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Le sue dolci acque insala in maggior vase.
xlii, 89.

Come accade ch'un pensiero
Un altro dietro, e quello un altro mena.
xlili, 64.

Non potria quant' oro
È sotto il Sol pagare.

Ibid, 138.

O terra, acciò ti si gittasse dentro,
Perchè allor non t'apristi insino al centro?

Ibid, 140.

O me Fortuna in alto o in basso ruota.
xliv, 61.

Purg. ii, 101.

Nuovo pensier dentro da me si mise ;
Dal qual più altri nacquero e diversi.

Purg. xviii, 141-142.

(Cf. also *Inf.* xxiii, 10).

Che tutto l'oro, ch' è sotto la luna.

Inf. vii, 64.

Ahì dura terra, perchè non t'apristi?

Inf. xxxiii, 66.

Ch'alla Fortuna, come vuol, son presto.

Inf. xv, 93.

and,

Però girì Fortuna la sua ruota.

Ibid, 95.

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APPARENT ABSENCE OF UMLAUT IN O.E.

Two cases are considered here :

1. The absence of the umlaut in appearance only, and

2. The real absence where it would be expected.

1. This is found in W.S. in certain forms in which the other dialects show umlaut : *ðréan*, *ðréagean*; *sméan*, *sméagean*; *fréa*; *éowan*.

The original of the last word we omit for the present. The others go back to **praujan*, **smaujan*, **frauja*. We have no reason to suppose that the *j* could have disappeared before causing umlaut. The evidence points the other way. Of *jo-* stems we have : *hieg* < stem **hauja-*; *hiew* < stem **hiuja-*; *glig* < stem **gliuja-*. Of *jā-* stems occur *ieg* (O.N. *ey*) < stem **aujō* < **a(g)ujō*; *eue*, *éowe* < stem **aujō*. The form *eue* could not come from an oblique case in which the *j* appeared, but would originate in a nom. **awi*, and the form so made would be generalized. Phonetically there ought to be nom. *eue*, gen **iege*, etc. From *eue* develops further the form *éowe*, (*éow* < *euw* < *ew*, cf. Sievers, *Ags. Gr.* §73, Anm. 1). From the adj. stem **niuja-* (Goth *niujis*) comes *niewe*. In the adj. forms *friges*, *frigum*, etc., by the side of a nom. *frío*, we have no case of

umlaut, since the root-syllable did not contain a vowel capable of umlaut. They are certainly not uncontracted forms, as set down by Sievers, *Ags. Gr.* §297, Anm. 2. The explanation is that we have a double leveling, the forms in *-io-* coming from cases with *-ija-* (as in Goth. *frijana*), while those with *-ig-* (= *ij*) come from cases with *iji*. The *g* here is a secondary development. For example, we may suppose the following development for the gen.: **fri(j)is* > **fri-s* > **fri-es* > *friges*.

The development of the corresponding verb is similar: *frijōn* > **fréon* > *fréog(e)an*. And so too: *fijan* > **féon* > *féogan*. Compare the old pres. parts. of these verbs, *fréond*, *féond*. The long *i* of *Ps. frigan* is, of course, not an umlaut, but arose as in *friges*.

From the above it is evident that a *j* following a diphthong did not disappear without causing umlaut. For the W.S. *ðréan* and *sméan* (for which also the longer forms *ðréagean* and *sméagean*, developed as in *fréog(e)an*) occur *Ps. ðrēgan*, North. *ðreiga*, *Ps. smégan*. The *é*, *ei* here must be the umlaut of *éa*, and not "the regular dialectic representative of *éa* before *g*" (Marguerite Sweet, *Am. Jour. Phil.* xiv, 428). This is apparent from the correspondence of vowels seen in W.S. *cíegan*, *cígan*, *Ps. cēgan*, North. *ceiga*, *ceia* from **kaujan*. Other non-W.S. verbs show-

ing the same umlaut are: *hégan* (O.N. *heyia*) <**haujan*, and *strégan*, Goth. *straujan*, pret. *strawida*. The W.S. gave up its corresponding **stríegan*, and leveled the verb to its pret. *strewede*. Therefore the *éa* of *ðréan*, *sméan* must be the contraction of the umlauted vowel with the suffix vowel. That is: *ðréan* <**ðrie(j)an*; *sméan* <**smie(j)an*, just as *héan* <**hiehan* > **hauhjan*. Sievers, §408,4.

Similarly *fréa* <**frie(j)a* (cf. *frígea*). By the side of *íewan*, *ýwan* occurs in W.S. *éowan*, which according to Sievers, §408,2 is not umlauted. This word is the same as Goth. *augjan*, O.H.G. *ougen*, M.H.G. (*z*-)*ougen*, *z-ounen*, etc., and is further related to Goth. *augō*, etc., O.H.G. *awi-zorah̄t ouga-zorah̄t*.

The diphthong *éo* in *éowan* cannot possibly go back to a Germ. *au(g)u-*, whether umlauted or not, but it can originate in *a(g)u-*, as Paul, *Beiträge* vi, 97, points out. Now since post consonantal *u* dropped before *īō* (Brugmann, *Grundr.* ii, §110) the original form of our verb was **agjan*, pret. **aūida*. By leveling and contamination of *ag-* and *a_u-* arose Goth. *augjan*, *augida*. But in O.E. the other development was generalized, giving **aujan* (or perhaps rather *auwjan*, Kögel, *Beiträge*, ix, 526) pret. **awida*. From these developed *íewan*, **ewede* > *éow(o)de*, with the spreading of both forms. With *au-* <*a(g)u-* (not *au(g)u-*) are formed O.H.G. *awi-zorah̄t*, M.H.G. *z-ounen*, M. L. Franc. *t-ōnen*, etc. On the confusion of *ag-* and *au-* cf. Osthoff, *Beiträge*, viii, 261, ff; Brugmann, *Grundr.* i, §444, Anm. 3; Franck, *Et. Wrdb.* sub *oog* and *toonēn*. The *éa* of the dialectic *éawan* is probably for *éo*. From this standpoint, therefore, there is no difficulty in deriving these words from the I.E. √ *oq-* in Gk. *ὄψ*, *ὄσσε*, Lat. *oculus*, etc.

There is probably a similar contamination in *éagor*, "sea, eagre," either for an original **agor* or **ægor*, cf. O.N. *Æger* <**āgia-*. The influencing word was doubtless *éa*, so that the change was comparatively late.

2. Here belong: *blāwan*, *clāwan*, *cnāwan*, *crāwan*, *māwan*, *sāwan*, *ðrāwan*, *wāwan*; *blōwan*, *flōwan*, *grōwan*, *hlōwan*, *rōwan*, *spōwan*.

In O.E. these verbs belong to the so-called reduplicating verbs. Similarly conjugated are Goth. *saian*, *waian*; O.N. *sá*; a few forms of

O.H.G. *blāan*, and of O.S. *sāian*, *thrāan*, *biknēgan*. Otherwise these verbs have become weak in these dialects. The reason for this is not far to seek. The most of them go back to presents formed from the root +*ē*+*īo-*, and +*ō*+*īo* (or *ā*+*īo*). Cf. Brugmann, ii, §739. Falling together in form with the causatives and denominatives, they became weak like so many other *īo-* presents.

But in O.E. there is no trace of a *j*. How is this to be explained? Sievers, §62, assumes that the *āw* in O.E. *blāwan*, etc., comes from *aiw*, comparing Goth. *saian*, *waian*, and the development seen in Goth. *snaiws*, *aiw*: O.E. *snāw*, *ā*. But the two cases are not parallel. In *saiws* the *ai* is a real diphthong, but in *saian* the *ai* represents I.E. *ē*. Cf. Bremer, *Beiträge*, xi, 51 ff. In O.H.G. the development was *blāu* <**blāju* <*blāīō* <*bhl-ē-īō*; and similarly *bluoīu* <*bhl-ō-īō*. This ought to give in O.E. **blāwe* and **blāwe*. The *w* is merely a transition-sound, and could not have developed while a *j* stood between the vowels. But it has already been shown that *j* standing between vowels does not disappear without causing umlaut. Nor can we assume a contraction *ē+ī>ā*; *ō+ī>ō*. Hence the only explanation possible is to adopt that given by Bremer, *Beiträge*, xi, 73, for Goth. *saia* <**sēō* <**sēmi*. Cf. also Möller, *Anz. f. d. A.* xx, 119.

These verbs, then, like the dissyllabic verbs of the same class had the athematic and the *īo-* inflection side by side. In O.E. the *īo-* inflection was crowded out, unless we except *sāēwan*, which may be an umlauted form. Without *īo-* inflection are also O.N. *sá*, *klá*, (but also *klēia*) *gróa*, *róa*. In O.H.G. all these verbs eventually generalized the *īo-* inflection.

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THE POSITION OF THE SECONDARY
ACCENT IN FRENCH ETYMONS
having more than the two Pretonic Syllables.
I.

IN 1876,¹ Mr. Darmesteter announced his solution of the treatment in French of the pro-

¹ *Romania* v., pp. 141-164. Reprinted in *Reliques Scientifiques* ii, pp. 95-119. Paris 1890.